

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00
CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00
OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00
/078 W

-----030097 091036Z /10

O 090908Z MAR 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2674
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
USNMR SHAPE IMMEDIATE
USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0113

E O 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
SUBJ: SUMMARY OF INFORMAL SESSIONS WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES
OF MARCH 7/8, 1978

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE MARCH 7, 1978 INFORMAL SESSION OF THE
VIENNA TALKS, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY THE FRG, NETHERLANDS
AND US REPS, AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS TARASOV AND SHUSTOV, POLISH
REP STRULAK AND CZECHOSLOVAK REP KEBLUSEK.

2. WESTERN REPS DESCRIBED THE MERITS OF THE WESTERN REDUCTIONS
APPROACH AND POINTED OUT THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EAST'S
REDUCTIONS APPROACH WOULD DIMINISH WESTERN SECURITY; THE EAST'S
PROPOSAL OF FEBRUARY 1976 HAD NOT BROUGHT ANY CHANGES IN THIS.
EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ARGUED THAT THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH
WAS WHOLLY ASYMMETRICAL, BOTH AS REGARDS THE QUANTITY OF THE MAN-
POWER AND ARMAMENTS REDUCTIONS ENVISAGED, AND QUALITATIVELY, AS
REGARDS THE METHOD OF REDUCTIONS ENVISAGED. THEY DESCRIBED THE EAST-

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ERN POSITION ON ARMAMENTS REDUCTIONS AND PRESENTED AN ANALYSIS OF
WHY WESTERN FIGURES ON THE WARSAW TREATY MANPOWER STRENGTH WERE
INCORRECT. IN DISCUSSION OF THE ORAL STATEMENTS TO PRECEDE DATA
EXCHANGE, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES SHOWED SOME WILLINGNESS TO CON-
SIDER AMENDMENTS IN THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF MARCH 2 AND DROPPING
THE MENTION OF THE EAST'S OCTOBER 25 PROPOSAL IN SECTION 3, BUT
CLAIMED THEY HAD TO CONSULT THEIR GDR COLLEAGUE WHO WAS NOT PRESENT

BEFORE DECIDING ON THIS. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE SESSION SHOULD BE CONTINUED TO HEAR FURTHER EASTERN VIEWS ON THE STATEMENTS.

3. NETHERLANDS REP LED OFF. HE ARGUED FOR THE MERITS OF THE WESTERN MIXED-PACKAGE APPROACH ON ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS AS COMPARED WITH THE EASTERN EQUAL PERCENTAGE APPROACH, WHICH WOULD CONTRACTUALIZE EASTERN SUPERIORITY IN MAJOR ARMAMENTS. RECENT EASTERN REMARKS ABOUT THE COMMITMENTS THE EAST WAS ASKING UNDER ITS FEBRUARY 1976 PROPOSAL FROM WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US DEMONSTRATED THAT THERE WAS NO REAL MOVEMENT ON PHASING IN THE EASTERN FEBRUARY 1976 PROPOSAL.

4. POLISH REP SAID WESTERN REPS HAD RECENTLY CLAIMED THAT THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH WAS NOT ASYMMETRICAL WHEN ALL FACTORS WERE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. HOWEVER, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE WEST WAS CALLING FOR ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS OF SOME 240,000 WARSAW TREATY MILITARY PERSONNEL AS COMPARED TO 90,000 NATO PERSONNEL. THE WESTERN APPROACH WAS ASYMMETRICAL WITH REGARD TO ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS, WHERE NATO REJECTED ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE BUT EXPECTED THE SOVIETS TO REDUCE BOTH THE TANKS AND ALL OTHER ARMAMENTS OF SOVIET GROUND FORCES. EVEN THE REDUCTION OF US NUCLEAR DELIVERY MEANS PROPOSED BY THE WEST COULD BE COMPENSATED FOR BY TRANSFER OF THESE ARMAMENTS TO OTHER NATO ALLIES. THE US REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS WOULD NOT PREVENT THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW TYPES OF WARHEADS TOWARDS WHICH INITIAL STEPS HAD ALREADY BEEN TAKEN. THERE WAS ALSO A QUALITATIVE ASYMMETRY ARISING FROM THE DIFFERENCE
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IN THE METHOD OF REDUCTIONS BY THE WEST REDUCING BY INDIVIDUALS TAKEN SELECTIVELY FROM VARIOUS UNITS, WHILE THE EAST WAS EXPECTED TO REDUCE IN LARGE FORMATIONS.

5. US REP ASKED FOR EASTERN REACTIONS TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, MADE IN THE MARCH 2 SESSION, TO AMEND SECTION 4 OF THE TEXT OF THE ORAL STATEMENTS. HE ALSO ASKED WHETHER, IN THE LIGHT OF THE DISCUSSION IN THE LAST SESSION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD ANYTHING FURTHER TO ADD TO WHAT THEY HAD ALREADY SAID AS REGARDS THE LANGUAGE THEY HAD PROPOSED FOR SENTENCE 1 OF SECTION 2, AND HE AGAIN REQUESTED THE EAST TO DELETE THE REFERENCE TO THE EAST'S OCTOBER 25 PROPOSAL IN SECTION 3.

6. CZECHOSLOVAK REP, IN ANSWER TO THE WESTERN QUESTION IN THE MARCH 2 SESSION AS TO WHAT CHANGES WITH REGARD TO ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS WERE ENVISAGED BY THE EAST'S FEBRUARY 1976 PROPOSAL AS COMPARED WITH ITS ORIGINAL 1973 PROPOSAL, SAID THE EASTERN NOVEMBER 1973 PROPOSAL CALLED FOR APPROXIMATELY 17 PCT REDUCTIONS IN PERSONNEL AND ARMAMENTS. THE FEBRUARY 1976 PROPOSAL HAD INCREASED THE NUMBER OF ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS WHICH THE US AND THE USSR WOULD MAKE IN THE FIRST STAGE. THE REMAINDER OF THE 17 PCT REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS SHOULD BE TAKEN IN A LATER STAGE, IF THE WEST AGREED TO DO THIS ON A RECIP-

ROCAL BASIS.

7. FRG REP SAID THAT THE CZECHOSLOVAK REP'S REMARKS CONFIRMED WESTERN STATEMENTS THAT THE EAST HAD DURING THE ENTIRE NEGOTIATION TAKEN NO STEPS TO CHANGE THE OUTCOME ENVISAGED IN ITS ORIGINAL NOVEMBER 1973 PROPOSAL.

8. TARASOV SAID THE WEST WAS CONTINUING TO SAY THAT EASTERN MANPOWER FIGURES WERE WRONG WITHOUT GIVING ANY SUBSTANTIATING EVIDENCE.

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TRSE-00 /083 W

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2675

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

USNMR SHAPE IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

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HE WARNED ABOUT WESTERN STATEMENTS ABOUT EASTERN DATA WHICH APPEARED TO ACCUSE THE EAST OF FALSIFYING ITS FIGURES, WHEN IT WAS WESTERN FIGURES WHICH WERE INCORRECT. TARASOV ARGUED THAT THE REASONS WHY WESTERN FIGURES WERE TOO LARGE WERE: A) THE USE OF AN APPROXIMATING COUNTING METHOD BASED ON TABLE OF ORGANIZATION STRENGTH OF EASTERN UNITS; B) INCLUSION IN WESTERN FIGURES OF CATEGORIES OF PERSONNEL NOT BELONGING TO THE ARMED FORCES; C) INCLUSION IN WESTERN FIGURES OF EASTERN FORCES IN TERRITORY ADJACENT TO THE REDUCTION AREA; D) INCORRECT ALLOCATION OF EASTERN FORCES BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR; E) AN INCLINATION TO OVERESTIMATE EASTERN FORCES IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY WESTERN MILITARY BUDGETS. INSTEAD OF ASKING FOR MORE DATA, THE WEST SHOULD PRESENT DETAILS ON ITS COUNTING METHODS AND ALSO ITS DETAILED DATA ON EASTERN FORCES, SO THAT EASTERN COMMENTARY COULD THEN REVEAL THE SOURCES OF THE ERROR IN WESTERN FIGURES.

9. TARASOV THEN REFERRED TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF MARCH 2ND. HE SAID THE EAST DID NOT INTEND TO GIVE MORE DATA THAN THAT SPECIFIED IN THE EAST'S OCTOBER 25 PROPOSAL. HE NOTED THAT WESTERN REPRESENT-
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ATIVES HAD EXPRESSED NEGATIVE VIEWS ON THE NEW LANGUAGE OF SENTENCE 1 OF SECTION 2 PROPOSED BY THE EAST ON MARCH 2ND, AND ASKED FOR SUGGESTIONS FROM WESTERN REPS WHICH WOULD BRING THIS LANGUAGE CLOSER TO WESTERN VIEWS.

10. US REP POINTED OUT WITH REGARD TO TARASOV'S STATEMENT THAT THE EAST WOULD GIVE NO MORE DATA THAT TARASOV HAD SAID THE EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON FUTURE DATA EXCHANGE. TARASOV REPLIED THAT, AS THE EAST UNDERSTOOD THE QUESTION OF HOW THE FURTHER DATA DISCUSSION WOULD BE DEVELOPED, THIS WOULD DEPEND ON THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS OF THE SIDES. AFTER DISCUSSION AMONG WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES, US REP SAID THAT, IF THE EAST WISHED TO CLARIFY ITS OWN PROPOSAL OF MARCH 2 BY REPLACING THE PHRASE QUOTE ON THE BASIS OF UNQUOTE, WITH THE OTHER WORDING DESCRIBED IN OR IN ACCORDANCE WITH, THE WEST WOULD BE INTERESTED TO HEAR THIS. THE EAST SHOULD DEFINITELY DROP THE MENTION OF THE EAST'S OCTOBER 25 PROPOSAL IN SECTION 3. TARASOV SAID HE WOULD STUDY THESE ISSUES AND THAT THE EAST WOULD GIVE A RESPONSE AFTER THERE HAD BEEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH THE ABSENT GDR REP. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE SESSION SHOULD BE INTERRUPTED FOR THIS PURPOSE AND SHOULD RECONVENE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

EAST SUBSEQUENTLY ASKED THAT THE SESSION BE RECONVENED ON MORNING OF MARCH 8.

11. IN THE MARCH 8, 1978 CONTINUATION INFORMAL SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY THE FRG, NETHERLANDS AND US REPS AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS TARASOV AND SHUSTOV, POLISH REP STRULAK AND CZECHOSLOVAK REP KEBLUSEK.

12. DURING THE SESSION, TARASOV PROPOSED THE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN THE TEXT OF THE ORAL STATEMENTS: (1) THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2 WOULD
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READ QUOTE THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS AGREE TO EXCHANGE DATA IN
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ACCORDANCE WITH THE JUST-CITED PROPOSALS OF THE WARSAW TREATY STATES DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OF OCTOBER 25, 1977, UNDER THE FOLLOWING UNDERSTANDING: UNQUOTE; (2) THE MATERIAL INSIDE THE BRACKETS IN SECTION 3 READING QUOTE SPECIFIED IN THE PROPOSAL OF THE SOCIALIST STATES OF OCTOBER 25 JUST CITED AND IN STATEMENTS OF WESTERN AND WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS MADE IN THE PRESENT SESSION UNQUOTE WOULD BE

DELETED; (3) SECTION 4 WOULD READ QUOTE A WESTERN REPRESENTATIVE WOULD REPLY "THE STATEMENT JUST MADE IS CORRECT AND WE AGREE TO IT. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE EXCHANGE OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED DATA IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITIONS OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON GENERAL QUESTIONS OF REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF THE ARMED FORCES. NOW WE CAN PROCEED TO THE EXCHANGE OF DATA ON GROUND FORCES" UNQUOTE.

13. TARASOV STATED THAT EASTERN AGREEMENT TO THE SECOND AND THIRD CHANGES ABOVE WAS DEPENDENT ON WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2 IN THE WORDING HE HAD JUST GIVEN.

14. TARASOV ALSO AGREED IN SECTION 3E TO ADD THE PHRASE QUOTE WITH THE EXCEPTION OF LUXEMBOURG UNQUOTE AFTER THE WORD QUOTE PARTICIPANT UNQUOTE SO THAT THIS ITEM WOULD NOW READ QUOTE DURING THIS ROUND THE SIDES WILL ALSO EXCHANGE DATA ON THE AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF LUXEMBOURG, PRESENTING THOSE DATA IN A FORM WHICH EACH OF THE SIDES DEEMS MOST EXPEDIENT FOR ITSELF UNQUOTE.

15. TARASOV SAID IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT AIR FORCE DATA WOULD BE EXCHANGED WITHIN TWO WEEKS AFTER EXCHANGE OF GROUND FORCE DATA. WESTERN REPS CONFIRMED THIS UNDERSTANDING. END SUMMARY. RESOR

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARMS, REGIONAL DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS, POLITICAL SUMMARIES, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MBFRV00113
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780106-0121
Format: TEL
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780388/aaaacwji.tel
Line Count: 247
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 10754cca-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 feb 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3388335
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SUMMARY OF INFORMAL SESSIONS WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES OF MARCH 7/8, 1978
TAGS: PARM, XH, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/10754cca-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014